



# Comparing Different Sources of Data to Examine Trends of Hate Crime in Absence of Official Registers

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## Abstract

Whether hate crime against minority groups increases or decreases over time underpins important theoretical and policy questions. However, the ability to capture trends is limited due to a dearth of data and measurement problems, especially in countries where there is no official register of hate crime. Using Chile as a case study, we compare longitudinal data from victimization surveys, registers of community organizations and mainstream media reports. The results allow us to discuss opportunities and limitations of triangulating different data sources to capture trends of hate crime. Our study results show a general increase in trends of hate crimes in Chile between 2015 and 2019, but important differences between data sources and victim groups (we consider LGBTI, migrant and Indigenous victims). We propose that the qualitative difference in the size of variation across different sources is explained by different biases of the data, which we review. This article illustrates the importance of disaggregating hate crimes because trends, correlates and key predictors often differ depending on the type of hate crime and the source of data.

**Keywords** Hate crime · Hate incidents · Hate measurement · Chile

## Introduction

This study focuses on measuring hate crimes in Chile and investigates the strengths and weaknesses of various sources that track these crimes. Hate crime is generally defined

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as any crime that manifests evidence of prejudice motivation (Green, McFalls, & Smith, 2001). Hate crime against minority groups has been the subject of increasing public attention at the global level, especially in the aftermath of violent episodes such as mass shootings of religious, ethnic and racial minorities (Moses, 2019). Official reports show that the number of hate crimes has been increasing in the last decade (see, for example, US Department of Justice, 2019; Home Office, 2018). Hate crimes have a significant negative impact on both victims and the broader society: they are likely to be more violent than regular crimes, and to create a fear in the targeted group that undermines community social cohesiveness (Chermak, Freilich, Parkin, & Lynch, 2012; Freilich & Chermak, 2013). In countries where there is no official recording of hate crimes, anecdotal evidence suggests that they are severe and brutal, and that they have been increasing over time. For example, Chilean watch-groups claim that bias-motivated aggressions against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex (LGBTI) communities starkly increased between 2018 and 2019, including episodes of extreme violence (Fernandez, 2020).

Debates about the etiology of these events, however, often use anecdotal evidence to determine whether hate crime has increased or decreased in a given time period (see, for example, Rizvi, 2019). The ability to examine trends of hate crime is limited by a dearth of data and measurement problems, especially in countries where there is no direct measurement. In this article, we explore how, in the absence of official registers (e.g., police data and other governmental organizations' archives of hate crime incidents), a diverse set of data sources can be triangulated to track trends of hate. This article, by focusing on the case study of Chile, brings a new perspective to the global literature about hate crime, which currently focuses almost exclusively on Europe, North America, and Australia. Chile lacks official registers of hate crime (for example, through police and other governmental organizations), the prevalence of which remains unknown. We therefore turn to alternative data sources, such as civil society registers, victimization surveys and media reports, and discuss their strengths and weaknesses in capturing the true eligible universe of cases of hate crime in the country.

## **Alternative Data Sources to Track Trends of Hate in the Absence of Official Registers**

Community organizations, such as watch-groups and advocacy groups, sometimes archive information about incidents of hate, including hate speech, hate incidents and hate crime. Examples include the Anti-Defamation League in the USA, Tell MAMA and the Community Security Trust in the UK, and ILGA in The Netherlands (for a full list and discussion of some of the main organizations in Europe, see, for example, the report of the European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights; FRA, 2018). These agencies collect reports from victims, witnesses and others, and use data from open sources. These groups often track hate crimes along with information about hate groups and extremist movements (Freilich & Chermak, 2013). Data collected by civil society organizations can be extremely valuable for research purposes and studies have found that it captures more incidents than official police data, which is affected by substantial underreporting (Green et al., 2001).

Some argue that certain watch groups may inflate the perception of hate against the communities they represent. As Chermak (2002) noted in his study of the US militia movement, watch-groups are motivated to construct social problems to their advantage through media reporting and encouraging journalists to emphasize certain aspects of their plight and ignore others consistent with their goals. Some also argue that watch-groups, by collecting and disseminating information about hate groups, play a role in amplifying hate's negative effects on society and exaggerate the perception of power of hate groups (Kaplan, 1997). While acknowledging this critique, we also believe it is important to highlight that, in a context where hate crime data quality is often suboptimal because of coding inconsistencies and massive underreporting (Gerstenfeld & Grant, 2004; Saucier, Brown, Mitchell, & Cawman, 2006), civil society organizations' registers are a key source that can be used to compare to other sources. Triangulating various source types could achieve a more realistic and accurate depiction of the real incidence of hate crime (see, for example, the well-established literature comparing official and victimization data to count regular crime in the US, Lynch & Addington, 2007).

Victimization surveys are another source of data alternative to official hate crime registers. Survey data can come from a number of sources, for example, hate crime researchers conduct ad hoc surveys to study perceived hate crime victimization and other environmental correlates (see, for example, Berrill & Herek, 1991; Herek, Gillis, Cogan, & Glunt, 1997; Bushman & Baumeister 1998; Wickes, Sydesm, Benier, & Higginson, 2017). In some countries, victimization surveys might include specific questions about hate crime victimization used for research purposes (see, for example, Ignaski & Lagou, 2015). Unfortunately, in many other cases, victimization surveys do not have questions about hate and do not provide information about the bias motivation of the crime or the characteristics of the offenders.

Media and online sources are a third source of data that can be used to collect information about real-world hate crimes. Data are often difficult to retrieve, especially longitudinal data over a long period, and social media archives are often not downloadable and searchable. We expect this source of data will be used increasingly in the future, with the increasing power of machine learning techniques and artificial intelligence, and increased collaboration between technology companies and researchers. Mainstream media outlets can be an important source of information, with data available from repositories like Dow Jones' Factiva (<https://www.dowjones.com/products/factiva>), but also can be a challenge because of bias inherent to the news production process and ideological leanings of media organizations.

## Minorities in Chile: Context and Issues

Chile is an ideal case study because contextual factors suggest that prejudice to racial, ethnic, gender and sexual minorities has been changing in recent years, including in the period under investigation (2015–2019). Chile is traditionally characterized by strong conservative Catholicism and a national identity myth of racial homogeneity and whiteness (Walsh, 2015). These traditional pillars of Chilean identity have been challenged constantly in the past decades by conflict with the largest Indigenous group in the country, the Mapuche, an unprecedented influx of migrants from diverse racial

backgrounds, and a surge in the struggle for recognition of gender and sexual minorities. This dynamic context is likely to have generated significant changes in attitudes and behaviors toward these minorities, including hate crime, which makes Chile an ideal context for our study.

The acceptance of LGBTI communities in Chile, although starting from a very low baseline, has grown significantly over time (Fundación Ideas, 1997, 2002; Aymerich, Manuel, & Vivanco, 2007; Movilh, 2018; CEP, 2017). Since the return to democracy in 1990, LGBTI pride parades have taken place every September with increasing participation, reflecting the relevance of LGBTI communities (Barrientos & Bozon, 2014). Changes in legislation to reflect this openness to LGBTI rights has taken longer. Sodomy was decriminalized in 1998, and an antidiscrimination law that included sexual orientation was approved in 2012. Normative changes accelerated after 2016, when the Chilean government signed the Agreement for Equality in front of the Inter American Commission of Human Rights. Since then the Chilean Justice System has consistently demonstrated a position in favor of the rights of trans children, equalitarian marriage, and homoparental adoption, based on a human rights perspective (Movilh, 2018).

Since the return of democracy in 1990, Indigenous people have also been increasingly recognized by Chilean law. In 1993, the Chilean Parliament passed a law called *Ley indígena*, which officially recognized Indigenous ethnic minorities, including the Mapuche people. Since then, the use of Mapundungun, the Mapuche language, which was prohibited during the dictatorship, has been included in school curricula and officially recognized by the state. Since 2001, the Mapuche political struggle has escalated into a conflict that has increasingly captured the attention of Chileans. Major incidents, such as the killing of the Mapuche student Matías Catrileo in January 2008, and the young Mapuche farmer Camilo Catrillanca in November 2018, both by Chilean police, captured the attention of the public audience and their murders became a symbol for the Mapuche cause (Véjar, 2015; Wadi, 2018). Since 2016, there has been an upsurge in conflict, with hundreds of attacks against churches, machinery, forest industries and security forces (Youkee, 2018).

Chile has been experiencing an unprecedented influx of migrants in the past decade, which has become a key issue on media and political agendas. Since 2010, intraregional migration in South America has intensified, accounting for 70% of the region's migratory flows in 2015 (IOM, 2018). The immigrant population in Chile grew more than 120% between 2002 and 2015 (COES, 2017). The composition of the immigrant population has also changed. Since 2015, there has been a marked increase in migrants with temporary visas entering Chile, especially from Venezuela and Haiti (DEM, 2019). The Haitian population in Chile, which was not significant before 2015, almost tripled the number of temporary visas issued by Chile that year, and the number of Venezuelan immigrants rapidly increased to 23% of the immigrant population in 2018, becoming the most prevalent group, followed by people from Peru and Haiti (DEM, 2019). The rapid changes in migratory movements that Chile has experienced are deeply felt and debated by the whole of Chilean society, and law reform has been discussed by Parliament to respond to the new scenario.

The increasing salience of LGBTI, migrant and Indigenous minorities might have threatened conservative and authoritarian elements of Chilean society. The salience of the LGBTI community can be seen as a threat to the Catholic conservatism that

characterizes Chilean elites (Walsh, 2015). The perceived threat from migrant and Indigenous minorities can theoretically originate from *perceived racial threat*: recent studies suggest that much of the discrimination suffered by Indigenous Chileans relates to skin color (CIIR, 2017; INDH, 2017; Merino et al. 2009) and physical appearance. Race is also a determining factor in triggering prejudice toward migrants in Chile. Until the middle of last century, European migration to Chile was greater than from within Latin America, thus only the most recent migration waves from Latin American and Caribbean countries, especially Haiti, have brought to the country a broader spectrum of skin colors, with significant influxes of mestizos, Indigenous, and black immigrants. While Chileans were on average positive about European migration, this new, more diverse racial scenario directly challenged the Chilean myth of racial homogeneity (Walsh, 2015). In Chile, skin color has traditionally marked status differences, reinforcing the dominant white elite (Torres, Salgado, Mackenna, & Núñez, 2018). Surveys reveal that Chileans prefer white to dark-skinned people (Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, & Swanson, 2002) and believe they are whiter than other Latin Americans (INDH, 2017), which creates a problem for the acceptance and integration of the new waves of immigrants into Chilean society.

Alongside the increasing salience of LGBTI, Indigenous and immigrant groups, various studies and national surveys have consistently reported concerning levels of rejection, prejudice and discrimination toward these three minority groups. Public opinion research show that homosexuals are victims of prejudice and rejection, with about one in four Chileans declaring that they would not want a homosexual person as neighbor (Inglehart et al., 2014). This widespread negative attitude to LGBTI groups has been confirmed by numerous other studies (e.g., Barrientos, Silva, Catalan, Gomez, & Logueira, 2010; Barrientos & Bozon, 2014; Cárdenas, Barrientos, Gómez, & Frías-Navarro, 2012). Prejudice and discrimination against Indigenous groups in Chile is extensively documented, with studies suggesting that about 80% of Chileans have stereotyped ideas about Mapuches being inferior, cognitively retarded, violent, uneducated, lazy, dirty, disagreeable, drunkards and strange (Merino et al. 2009). National surveys indicate that 89% of Indigenous peoples report having experienced discrimination (CERC-Participa, 1999–2001). Research has repeatedly reported rejection of and prejudice towards immigrants from other Latin American countries in Chile (Aravena & Álvarez, 2012; COES, 2017; González, Sirlopú, & Kessler, 2010; INDH, 2017; Tijoux, 2016). The extent to which the negative attitudes and prejudice against these three minority groups is translating into violent aggressions against them, and whether such hate-motivated attacks are on the rise, remains unknown.

## Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis

The increasing salience and levels of perceived threat of LGBTI, Indigenous and migrant groups could potentially be associated with changing trends in hate crime against these groups. Reactions to the perceived threat triggered by out-group salience can vary depending on the context, emotional state and individual characteristics of the people involved and can range from avoidance to aggression (Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005). Previous research has shown that demographic change and immigration patterns are positively associated with increases in hate crime targeting migrants

(Stacey, Carbone-Lopez, & Rosenfeld, 2011). These changes are usually explained with theories of intergroup conflict and perceived threat, using a multiplicity of theoretical mechanisms to explain why and how people react to threats (Green et al., 2001). These range from ideas of threat to belonging and group identity (see, for example, *integrated threat theory*, Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000, and *social identity theory*, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979) to psychodynamic unconscious processes associated with the management of death thoughts (see for example *terror management theory*, McGregor et al., 1998).

Previous research shows that physical aggression is a likely reaction to threat, especially among people with authoritarian and narcissistic personality who are prone to experience anger and support hateful ideologies (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Greenberg, Arndt, Schimel, Pyszczynski, & Sheldon, 2001; Pyszczynski et al., 2006; Vergani, 2018). Studies on US hate groups discourses found that hate narratives against illegal migrants developed in response to perceptions of threat to social orders and values of national identity, citizenship and otherness (Gemignani & Hernandez-Albujar, 2015). Research on authoritarianism has long established that authoritarian personalities are particularly susceptible to ideas of threat to social order and national identity (Feldman, 2003, 2013). Individuals who are more socially vulnerable and isolated can also be more disposed to adopt and endorse violence and aggression against out-groups in response to threat (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010).

*Based on this literature, we hypothesize that hate crime in Chile has increased during the period under investigation (2015–2019) (Hypothesis 1).* We formulate a second hypothesis about the variation in number of cases recorded by different sources. Previous research on hate crime has compared official sources to archives compiled by civil society organizations (i.e., watch-groups), and found that civil society registers capture more hate crimes than official data (Green et al., 2001). Further, Kaplan (1997) argues that civil society organizations and advocacy watch-groups tend to retrieve more cases than other sources of data about hate crime. Based on this literature, *we expect that the trends and size of variations in hate crime will be different across different sources (Hypothesis 2), with civil society organizations reporting more incidents than media and victimization surveys (Hypothesis 3).*

## Data and Methods

To test the three hypotheses, we focus on one type of hate crime (physical aggressions motivated by prejudice) against migrant, Indigenous, and LGBTI minorities in Chile between 1 January 2015 and 31 December 2019. We chose this time window because of the availability of data. Chile is an ideal case study to explore this topic because there are no official registers of hate crime, as in many other countries, but there are alternative sources of data.

First, we use watch-group data collected by the Movement of Homosexual Integration and Liberation (Movilh, its acronym in Spanish). Movilh has been collecting information about discrimination and various types of hate incidents targeting the LGBTI community in Chile since 2002 and publishes yearly reports with transparent methodology and codification system; it includes the full de-identified list of reports included in the register for each year (see, for example, Movilh, 2018). In this article,



we consider reports of physical aggression toward LGBTI individuals collected by Movilh in 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019. We could not identify any other watch-group collecting data about expressions of hate against minorities in Chile.

Second, we use data from the ENUSC survey (Encuesta Nacional Urbana de Seguridad Ciudadana (National Urban Survey of Citizen Security)). The ENUSC survey is collected by the Chilean National Statistics Institute. Since 2015, the survey has asked whether respondents have been the victim of violent aggression, and whether they think that it was motivated by “sexual orientation”, “nationality” or an “other reason”. We used “sexual orientation” to capture aggression against LGBTI groups and “nationality” to capture aggression against migrants. As Indigenous identity was not presented as a choice of motivation behind the aggression, we looked at indigenous respondents’ indications of being the victim of aggression for “other reason”.

Third, we examined the number of news and current affairs reports focusing on hate crime published in the Chilean media between 1 January 2015 and 31 December 2019 using Factiva data (<https://www.dowjones.com/products/factiva/>). Factiva is a repository of news items collected daily from large national newspaper outlets globally. Factiva’s query tool allows for the search of specific keywords within subsections of available media items, the results of which can then be checked manually. We used a diverse list of keywords to search for news items covering hate crime against LGBTI, Indigenous and migrant groups between 2015 and 2019 in Chile. Specifically, we searched (in Spanish language) for “aggression”, “assault”, “attack”, “homicide”, “murder” and a combination of: “homophobia”, “lesbi\*”, “gay”, “bisexual”, “trans\*”, “intersex” (for anti-LGBTI hate crime); “xenophob\*”, “migrant\*” (for anti-immigrant hate crime); “indigen\*”, “Mapuche” (for anti-Indigenous hate crime). We then revised the search terms, and counted the cases of alleged prejudice-motivated aggressions covered in the media for each year. We restricted our search to the crime/legal action section of the “political general news” in Chile, to avoid noise from news items focused on other topics, such as finance or international news.

## Results

We counted the total number of hate crimes recorded by each source per year. Table 1 shows a clear increasing trend in the total number of cases recorded by the three sources over time. The increase is not uniform across each year: we observe a + 28.4% increase between 2016 and 2017, and a + 30.8% increase between 2018 and 2019, and a fluctuation of  $\pm 3.5\%$  or less for the other years. When we look at the increase in hate crimes recorded by each source, we immediately notice differences. Between 2016 and 2017, we observe an increase of +40% in hate crimes collected by Movilh and + 34.1% by the ENUSC survey, which is not reflected in the Factiva data. Between 2018 and 2019, we observe an increase of +25.9% increase in hate crimes recorded by Movilh, and a + 480% increase in hate crimes recorded by Factiva, which is not reflected in the ENUSC data.

The data shows a general increase in hate crimes recorded by the three sources in Chile between 2015 and 2019, which confirms Hypothesis 1. However, this trend appears to be discontinuous and inconsistent across sources. We ran a chi-squared statistical test and rejected the null hypothesis that each year’s number of cases is

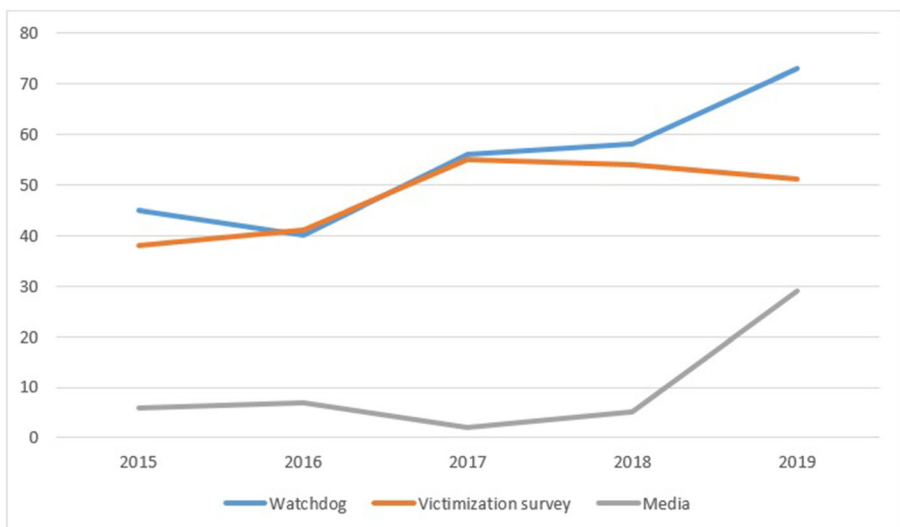
**Table 1** Comparison of total number of hate crimes recorded by each source per year

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Movilh	45	40	56	58	73	272
ENUSC	38	41	55	54	51	239
Factiva	6	7	2	5	29	49
Total	89	88	113	117	153	560

independent of the data source,  $\chi^2 (8, 560) = 32.7, p < .0001$ . The test confirms Hypothesis 2, which posited that trends and size of variations are different across different sources. Figure 1 presents a synthetic visualization of the trends from different sources.

To test Hypothesis 3, which posits that civil society organizations collect the largest number of cases compared to media and victimization surveys, we conducted additional analyses. To explore whether Movilh collected the largest number of hate crimes against the LGBTI community compared to the other sources, we looked at the number of incidents by year recorded by the ENUSC survey and Factiva, distinguishing the crimes towards different victim groups. Table 2 reports hate crimes against LGBTI victims, Table 3 against Indigenous victims, and Table 4 against migrant victims.

Table 2 shows that Movilh collects much more hate crimes than ENUSC and Factiva, confirming Hypothesis 3. It is also interesting to notice that overall, hate crimes against all communities have increased in the period under examination. Between 2015 and 2019, hate crimes against LGBTI victims (+79.6%), Indigenous victims (+46.9%), and against migrant victims (+200%) all increased. However, the increase is not visible in each data source: the ENUSC data does not present an increase relative to LGBTI and migrant victimization, and the Factiva data does not present an

**Fig. 1** Comparison between trends emerging from different data sources



**Table 2** Hate crimes against LGBTI victims

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Movilh	45	40	56	58	73	272
ENUSC	6	4	3	2	3	18
Factiva	3	4	1	3	21	32
Total	54	48	60	63	97	322

increase relative to Indigenous victimization. In the next section, we discuss the inconsistency between data sources by analyzing their intrinsic biases.

## Discussion

The research findings confirm Hypothesis 1, which posits that hate crime has increased between 2015 and 2019. This supports predictions of social identity theory, integrated threat theory and terror management theory, which suggest that the salience of a perceived threatening out-group can trigger an aggressive violent reaction against that group. This study proposes that the changing levels of salience and perceived threat of LGBTI, Indigenous and migrant groups in Chile's recent history are associated with an increase in hate crimes against these minorities. The results also confirm Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3, which posit respectively that trends and size of variations are different across the different sources, and that civil society organizations collect the largest number of cases compared to media and victimization surveys. This study provides the first approximation to measuring trends of hate crime in Chile.

It is important to discuss the biases that affect each data source, which may provide an explanation for the inconsistency of the trends emerging from different data sources. First, survey data is biased by barriers to reporting hate crime victimization, especially among vulnerable groups. For example, LGBTI people may not want to disclose their sexual or gender identities, and immigrants might be reluctant to report victimization due to fear of affecting their migration status (Antjoule, 2016; Chakraborti & Hardy, 2015; Peel, 1999). These biases might explain why trends of hate crimes against LGBTI and migrants in Chile were not captured in the ENUSC data.

Second, media sources are more likely to cover significant terrorist events, fatal cases, and incidents that occur closer to the media outlets, which often correspond to urban areas, and are more likely to miss less severe cases and incidents committed in rural areas (Behlendorf, Belur, & Kumar, 2016; Cubukcu & Forst, 2018). The level of

**Table 3** Hate crimes against indigenous victims

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
ENUSC	29	31	48	47	46	201
Factiva	3	3	1	2	1	10
Total	32	34	49	49	47	211

**Table 4** Hate crimes against migrant victims

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
ENUSC	3	6	4	5	2	20
Factiva	0	0	0	0	7	7
Total	3	6	4	5	9	27

media and political attention to hate crimes could influence both police and victim reporting (see, for example, Chermak, 2002). Media attention can be influenced by political agendas and other gatekeeping practices of journalists, and not necessarily be a true reflection of real-world phenomena. For example, our results show that Factiva did not capture an increase in hate crime victimization of Indigenous people (as opposed to LGBTI and migrants). This might reflect the coverage of Indigenous conflict in Chile as a security issue, where the Mapuche are usually portrayed as the offenders, not the victims of violence. Additionally, watch-groups often try to influence media reporting by actively seeking to publicize cases of hate against their communities; therefore, an increasing or decreasing trend of cases appearing in the media can be caused by the presence (or absence) of watch-group organizations, and by their changing ability to influence the media.

Third, watch-group data is biased by reporting practices among the victimized community. The stark increase in Movilh's data might also reflect changes in reporting practices among the LGBTI community in Chile. In other words, the LGBTI community might have increased their reporting of hate incidents to Movilh for a number of reasons (for example, increased awareness of Movilh's advocacy role and reporting mechanisms, increased self-efficacy and empowerment among community members, perhaps encouraged by the changing Chilean cultural beliefs that are increasingly accepting of the LGBTI community). As the organization itself points out, the increase in the reporting of incidents of discrimination can be seen as result of the greater empowerment of Chilean LGBTI people in the defense of their rights (Movilh, 2018). Increased reporting surely contributes to a more precise identification of the magnitude of hate crime affecting a community, but it can distort trends.

By making visible the figures of violent hate victimization against minority groups in Chile, this work contributes to the discussion about the need for a stronger hate legislation in the country. Chile does not have a legislation that defines hate crime as a separate type of crime, and it does not have legislation that requires hate crimes data to be collected. Since 2012, Chile has had an antidiscrimination law that protects citizens from arbitrary discrimination and allows judges to enforce harsher sentences if a crime is motivated by prejudice (Salinero, 2013). This legislation has been harshly criticized for not meeting international standards (Díaz de Valdés j, 2017; Esparza, 2019; Muñoz, 2015, 2019; Solar, 2013). Echoing such criticisms, the UN Human Rights Office (2015) has recommended the Chilean State to undertake a comprehensive revision of its antidiscrimination law. Academics and human rights practitioners have been advocating for improvements, such as mandatory reparations for victims, shifting the burden of proof from the alleged victim to the alleged perpetrator, and creating an autonomous institution that ensures effective promotion and protection of human rights (e.g., ADL

2020; Corporación Humanas 2015; UNPO 2013). The main barriers to upgrading hate crime legislation seem to originate from the political conservative elites and their resistance to any cultural and social change that may favor indigenous, migrant and LGBTI minorities (Paredes, 2019; Schulenberg, 2019).

We are aware that in this article, by focusing on prejudice-motivated physical aggressions, we capture just one of the various forms of hate against minorities in Chile. Minority groups often suffer non-criminal and subtle forms discrimination in their daily life, which go mostly unreported (Barrientos & Bozon, 2014; Merino et al., 2009). Future research should focus on capturing trends of the multiple forms of hate against minorities in Chile, ranging from physical aggression to more subtle discriminatory behaviors. The lack of reliable data available to police forces, social researchers and policy makers in Chile is detrimental to the implementation of mitigating and preventive measures. This work calls for more careful and precise data collection strategies to track the phenomenon of hate against minorities in Chile, promote legislative reform and plan preventative policies to preserve and improve human rights and social cohesion.

Our findings also support prior research that illustrate the importance of disaggregating hate crimes because correlates and key predictors often differ depending on the type of hate crime and targeted groups (Gladfelder, Lantz, & Ruback, 2015). For example, hate crime research in the US finds that anti-racial minority hate crimes often occur in predominately white neighborhoods in the midst of a demographic change (Stacey et al., 2011; Lyons, 2008), while anti-gay hate crimes are committed in areas with larger gay populations (Green et al., 2001). Our study shows that trends of hate crime against specific groups might differ in direction and size, depending on the source of data that we consider. We acknowledge that we were only able to locate watch-group data for the LGBTI community, and not for indigenous and migrant communities. We would expect data collected by watch-groups in other communities to display the same biases and potential as Movilh's data.

This article calls for empirical research using different data sources to examine important and under-researched theoretical questions about hate crime. Green et al. (2001) found that LGBTI watch-groups collect more hate crime reports than police, but the prevalence of hate crimes recorded by police and watch-groups in different geographical areas co-varies. In related fields like terrorism studies, scholars have found that open sources (such as media reports) record less cases than official sources. Previous research comparing terrorism data from media and official sources, found that media sources are more incomplete than official sources in India (Behlendorf et al., 2016) and Turkey (Cubukcu & Forst, 2018). Other studies (Chermak et al., 2012; Freilich, Chermak, Belli, Gruenewald, & Parkin, 2014) found that the open source Extremist Crime Data Base (ECDB) in the US captured more cases of homicides by right-wing extremists than official sources, in this case because of the narrow inclusion criteria used by the FBI. Further studies should explore whether these trends present similarly in longer time frames, for other minority groups (e.g., religious minorities, disabled people or elders), and using different data sources.

In conclusion, this article calls for triangulating and using different sources of data to capture the true eligible universe of cases of hate crime under investigation. Triangulation can provide a better understanding of trends than one data source. However, one must be mindful of different biases and inclusion criteria that are likely to affect the

outcomes. We believe that inconsistencies in sizes of trends emerging from triangulation illustrate challenges to measurement and potential bias in the data sources. To improve the quality and quantity of data, all agencies collecting data should consider establishing common definitions of hate, inclusion criteria and measurement strategies, to develop standardized procedures and integration, or at least facilitate comparison, of the data. If this is not possible, each source should carefully review its data collection process to identify all possible errors that could occur at each step of the process. This would allow for an error profile for each data source, which academics and others could take into account when they use or analyze these data. These steps could greatly improve our understanding of hate, and aid scholars, policy makers and policing practitioners to tackle hate more effectively. More effective data collection could be used to conduct theoretical and policy-relevant research on causes and consequences of hate crime outside the United States and Western Europe, where the vast majority of the existing research on the topic comes from, allowing to test the validity of mainstream criminological theories in different contexts.

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